

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 093009

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 093009

FOLLOWING HONG KONG 4975 ACTION SECSTATE INFO MOSCOW

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ALGIERS BANGKOK BUENOS AIRES CAIRO CANBERRA DAR ES SALAAM

JAKARTA KINSHASA LAGOS LONDON MEXICO PARIS RANGOON RIO DE

JANEIRO GENEVA NATO MAY 3RD.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 4975

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CH

SUBJ: CHINA AND THE THIRD WORLD

SUMMARY: IN THE RECENT UN SPECIAL SESSION, IN THE CLAMOR  
OVER REFORMING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, AND IN ON-  
GING DEBATES ON LOS AND OTHER ISSUES, CHINA HAS BEEN ACTING  
AS A VIGOUROUS SPOKESMAN FOR THE THIRD WORLD. AN EXAMIN-  
ATION OF CHINA'S INTERESTS, POLICIES, AND PROSPECTS IN  
THE THIRD WORLD THEREFORE SEEMS TIMELY. PEKING HAS LONG  
SEEN THE THIRD WORLD AS AN AUXILIARY ALTHOUGH HIGHLY UN-  
ORGANIZED FORCE IN WORLD POLITICS WITH WHICH IT HAS MANY  
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PAGE 02 STATE 093009

SHARED INTERESTS. THE CHINESE BELIEVE THAT THE DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES NOW HAVE A NEW POTENTIAL FOR DIFFUSING INTERNATIONAL POWER, A TREND WHICH CHINA WISHES TO ENCOURAGE PRIMARILY FOR STRATEGIC REASONS. HOWEVER, THE PRC DOES NOT WISH TO SEE A SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD WHICH WOULD PROVIDE POWER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE SOVIETS. THUS PEKING HAS ADOPTED A RELATIVELY MODERATE APPROACH TO THE QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND HAS ATTEMPTED TO DIRECT THE SPEARHEAD OF THIRD WORLD RESENTMENT AGAINST THE USSR. BECAUSE OF BASIC DIFFERENCES IN BOTH POWER AND IDEOLOGY WHILE CHINA MAY BE REGARDED BY SOME AS THE MIGHTIEST CHAMPION OF THE THIRD WORLD, IT IS UNLIKELY EVER TRULY TO BE ITS LEADER. END SUMMARY.

1. IN RECENT MONTHS PEKING HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO HEIGHTEN ITS IDENTITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND TO WIN SPECIFIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT IT IS A CITIZEN OF THAT WORLD. THIS HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE PRC'S HIGH-LEVEL PARTICIPATION IN THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION; IT VOLUMINOUS PROPAGANDA ATTENTION TO THE SUBJECT, THE PARADE OF AFRICAN AND ARAB VISITORS TO PEKING; DIRECT APPEAL BY CHOU EN -LAI FOR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF CHINA'S THIRD WORLD CREDENTIALS; CONTINUATION OF A GENERAOUS PRC AID PROGRAM, AND INCREASED PEKING ATTENTION TO THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLES.

2.. INFLUENCE IN THE THIRD WORLD HAS LONG BEEN IMPORTANT TO THE PRC AS A PRINCIPAL MANIFESTATION OF CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE AND AS A SOURCE OF DIPLOMATIC AND MORAL SUPPORT. ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES, PRC INTERESTS ARE USUALLY PARALLEL WITH THOSE OF THE THIRD WORLD. CHINA'S STRATEGIC POSITION AND ITS LACK OF A BLUE OCEAN NAVY AND FOREIGN BASES ALSO DICTATES A COMMON STAND WITH MOST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON THE EXTENSION OF TERRITORIAL SEA LIMITS, SOVEREIGNTY OVER INTERNATIONAL STRAITS, NUCLEAR -FREE ZONES AND MANY OTHER ISSUES. THE CURRENT DRIVE FOR A TRANSFORMATION OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAS NOW PROVIDED THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES A NEW POTENTIAL FOR DIFFUSING INTERNATIONAL POWER-- A TREND WHICH CHINA WISHES TO ENCOURAGE PRIMARILY FOR STRATEGIC REASONS.

3. PEKING SEES THE THIRD WORLD AS AN AUXILIARY AND INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ALTHOUGH STILL HIGHLY UNORGANIZED FORCE IN WORLD  
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PAGE 03 STATE 093009

POLITICS. AS THE WEAKEST OF THE POWERS WITH A WORLD ROLE, CHINA WELCOMES THE STRENGTHENING OF THIS COUNTERVAILING FORCE AS WELL AS LONG-TERM EFFORTS TO REDISTRIBUTE WORLD WEALTH. BUT REGARDLESS OF CHINA'S SUBSTANTIAL AID PROGRAMS AND ITS PROPAGANDA EMPHASIS ON THE THIRD WORLD, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PRC ITSELF DEVOTES FAR MORE CONCERN TO ITS RELATIONS WITH THE POWERS-- BOTH THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLDS. CHINA'S FUNDAMENTAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS LIE IN THESE AREAS.

4. THUS THE PRC DOES NOT WISH TO SEE THE THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE FOR A REDIVISION OF WEALTH LEAD TO SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS WITHIN AND AMONG THE CAPITALIST STATES-- A "GREAT UPHEAVAL" WHICH WOULD HAVE FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES ON THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN FAVOR OF THE USSR. BECAUSE OF THIS ORIENTATION, THE CHINESE HAVE ADOPTED A RELATIVELY MODERATE APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. PRC STATEMENTS HAVE PLAYED DOWN THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR AND VIRTUALLY IGNORED THE "EXPLOITATIVE"ROLE OF THE INTERMEDIATE CAPITALIST STATES, EVEN STRESSING THE LATTER'S COMMON INTERESTS WITH THE THIRD WORLD

5. PEKING ATTEMPTS TO DIRECT THIRD WORLD RESENTMENT AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, BUT WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK AIMS THE SPEAR-HEAD AT THE USSR. IN THE PAST YEAR THIS PATTERN HAS BEEN APPLIED EVEN IN AREAS SUCH AS LATIN AMERICA WHERE THE U.S. WOULD SEEM TO BE THE NATURAL SUPER TARGET. REFLECTING ITS OWN EXPEDIENT INTEREST IN NOT UNDERMINING U.S. MILITARY POSITIONS AROUND THE WORLD, PEKING EMPHASIZES THE PRIMACY OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO THE SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THIRD WORLD NATIONS. ON QUESTIONS SUCHAS MARITIME RIGHTS, CHINA PORTRAYS THE USSR AS THE MORE PERFIDIOUS AND BULLYING OF THE TWO SUPER GIANTS. ALSO IN ITS COMMENTS ON MONETARY AND TRADE ISSUES WHICH INVOLVE ESSENTIALLY THE THIRD WORLD AND INDUSTRIALIZED CAPITALIST NATIONS, THE PRC STRIVES TO KEEP THE SOVIETS SPOTLIGHTED AS A MAIN TARGET AND TO AVOID ATTACKS ON CAPITALIST POWERS SUCH AS JAPAN AND THE UK.

6. CHINA'S NATIONALISTIC APPROACH TO THE THIRD WORLD HAS BEEN IDEOLOGICALLY RATIONALIZED BY THE THESIS THAT THE TRUGGLE OF THE THIRD WORLD AGAINST "IMPERIALISM AND IN

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PAGE 04 STATE 093009

PARTICULAR THE SUPERPOWERS" IS THE MAIN FORM OF CLASS STRUGGLE ON THE WORLD STAGE TODAY. CHAIRMAN MAO HIMSELF APPARENTLY HAS RECENTLY REAFFIRMED THAT THE PRESENT PRIORITY OF CHINA'S THIRD WORLD INTERESTS ARE IDEOLOGICALLY APPROPRIATE IN THE CURRENT STAGE OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. THUS CHINA'S CURRENT DOMESTIC POLITICS SEEM UNLIKELY FUNDAMENTALLY TO ALTER THE PRESENT LINE.

7.BUT DESPITEEXTENSIVE EFFORST TO WOO THE THIRD WORLD, CHINA IS VIEWED BY MOST AFRICAN, ASIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS AS ONE OF THE WORLD FORCES WHICH HAS THE ASSETS OF POWER POLITICS, INCLUDING A NUCLEAR CAPABILILTY, A SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID PROGRAM, AND AN IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM WITH UNIVERSAL PRETENSIONS-- ALL BEYOND THE DREAMS OF THE MOST MEGALOMANIAC OF THIRD WORLD LEADERS. FURTHERMORE, CHINA IM-

PORTS VIRTUALLY NOTHING BUT RAW MATERIALS FROM THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHILE SELLING TO THEM TEXTILES, LIGHT MANUFACTURES AND PROCESSED GOODS. IN ADDITION, THE IDEOLOGICAL CHASM THAT CONTINUES TO SEPARATE CHINA FROM THE THIRD WORLD IS REFLECTED IN PEKING'S REFUSAL AS A MATTER OF DOCTRINE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE AVOWED SOCIALIST NATURE OF SUCH COUNTRIES AS TANZANIA. ALSO IN THE PRC'S OWN ASIAN BACKYARD, HISTORICAL FEARS, THE CONTINUING ACTIVITY OF PRO-PEKING INSURGENTS, AND THE PROBLEMS OF OVERSEAS CHINESE FURTHER COMPLICATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SENSE OF COMMUNITY WITH CHINA. CERTAINLY FEW COUNTRIES SHARE THE ESSENCE OF THE PRC'S VIEW OF WORLD POLITICS. CHINA'S OPPOSITION TO U.S. -SOVIET DETENTE, TO DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR TEST BANS, ITS PREOCCUPATION WITH THE SOVIET THREAT, AND ITS APPRECIATION OF THE "NECESSARY EVIL" OF AMERICAN MILITARY POWER LEAVES MANY THIRD WORLD GOVERNMENTS UNIMPRESSED IF NOT DUMBFOUNDED.

8. THUS WHILE PRC INFLUENCE AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL PROBABLY GROW AND WHILE CHINA MAY BE ACCEPTED BY SOME AS THE MIGHTIEST CHAMPION OF THE THIRD WORLD, IT IS UNLIKELY EVER TRULY TO BE ITS LEADER. MORE LIKELY IT WILL REMAIN A FORTH WORLD OF ITS OWN. PEKING'S PRESENT APPROACH  
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